/xii cont./

*114 terminology of that time). Shternberg met his first "native" at the Aleksandrovsk post, i.e., at the point of his initial deportation, three months after his arrival on Sakhalin. About the impression
● [117] that this meeting made on Shternberg, there is a characteristic entry in his diary for the twelfth of August, 1889: "I saw on the street an old Gilyak shaman in rags, with tousled gray hair and a foolish, good-natured-cunning smile on his face. Small boys surrounded him and shouted: 'Look at the old shaman, he will do some divining for you.' I approached. The old man, small in stature, with dignified gray hair, a high, powerful forehead, and a good-natured expression, stood helpless among them and looked at me. I departed from that sight with sadness..." Shternberg ends his entry in the diary with the significant sentence: "Some day I shall make a study of them" (1).

[113]

1. "L. IA. Shternberg as a field ethnographer," in the periodical, Priroda i liudi, Nos. 17/18 and 19, p. 33, Leningrad, 1931.

Very soon, six months after this meeting with the Gilyak shaman, the Sakhalin administration "took the trouble" to give Shternberg the opportunity to study the Gilyak. Actually, due to his systematic attempts to defend his comrade -- political exiles, to whom corporal punishment and similar measures were beginning to be applied, he was sent in February, 1890, to the isolated cordon of Viakhtu, located 100 kilometers to the north of Aleksandrovsk in a half-deserted place on the shore of Tatar Strait. Here, in a walled-off corner of the hut-prison which he shared with his guards, Shternberg set up a "study" and began his ethnographic work. Not far (two kilometers) from the cordon there was a little Gilyak settlement which Shternberg started to visit often and to observe attentively the life of its inhabitants. Very soon, after thoughtful and extensive research, he succeeded in uncovering the peculiar family-clan structure of the Gilyak. Within the cordon itself, which was located near a thoroughfare, he first met even some Tungus who happened to be passing through.

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From an Amur Gilyak named Tys', 22 years old and from the settlement of Mkhyl', another Gilyak, Urgayn from Vayda, stole the wife and went with her to the missionary Moskvitin. The husband overtook them and began to beg the missionary not to marry them, but he carried out the request of the abductor for a certain bribe. Then the husband collected his clansmen and took back his wife by force. The original abductor presented his marriage certificate to the police, who, for a bribe, ordered the woman to be returned to her lawful owner. It ended with the husband's shooting his wife and himself. They return the bride price without litigation when the wife dies childless soon after her wedding, or when she runs away because her husband is poor and is not in a position to feed a wife, and, finally, when a wife betrothed in childhood dies.

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Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak
(Extracts from Notebooks and Diaries)

I.

The Tribal and Clan Composition of the Population of the Lower Amur

A legend. Long, long ago the Gilyak, the Orochi, and the Goldi were one people. They were born on one branch of an alder tree. The brother and sister did not know where to go. The sister said, "down to the earth," and was the first to descend.

Settlement of Bulava. Due (Kugi /Ainu/) -- 35 people; one finds them also in Patu, Tebakh, and Mago. When three men came, they found one house of an Ulcha khal'a. Mongol -- khala -- Djakhsul came down from the Goldi village of Chol'chi (1896).

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117 614 103 Settlement of Mayya. 1) The clan of Yngin. His clan is also in Vayr -- they are the masters of Vayr, but it happened that one brother killed his brother, and then they separated and divided the fire: "If friend kills friend, who will be born?" 2) The Beldy clan are former Goldi who came down three generation ago. 3) The Polmk clan. Gilyak from the river near Mikhaylovskiy. They have been living here for five years (1896).

Settlement of Mongol'. The Valdzu clan from the village of Val' Orosugbu -- from the same village where the wars were. Dz:aj from the village of Dzhay.

The Valdzu are four generations /kolena/ from Uval'-khotin on the Sungari -- Solodo. When they arrived here, they found only the Sigdyli (nami) clan, but these all died out (1896).

Settlement of Koyma on the upper Amur. 1) The Choril came from Tro -- one to Kol', a second here, a third somewhere else. 2) Bajal -- the Manchu or Solodo clan from Kozima. The Bajal seem to be the first who lived here; later on they were called to Kizi, and then they came back and they were given a starosta.

[169] [563] Settlement of Geri. Kern -- khal-Dea. Runaway Chinese came here on a raft during a war and attached their raft by a hook, formed a clan of their own, and then became Gilyakified. Later the Manchu came, confirmed the name of this clan, and appointed starostas. Dua-Tvanbfing (Pat) Ajumka from Tymi-fing.

117 103 173 /286/ Settlement of Puli. Samagil -- two generations from the Gorin. The father of the informant raised reindeer. 2) Tumuli -- rom Dzhongli, near the Perm ones: Goldi.

Settlement of Ukhta. Tyvl-fing -- inhabitants of Tyvl' -- Ulcha clan (Ulcha khala). They left for Kol' and formed Tyvl-fing, but came back by way of Lake Chlya (a three-day trip) -- "six fathers since we came back," i.e., six generations ago. 2) Dea -- burn their dead; ancestors of the narni, went down to Kol' and came back as Gilyak. Dea -- Kern-khal. Dzhatala -- the settlement of Udyli.

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117 Settlement of Mykhyl'. Ygna (Langr) -- Kugi from Rui (now
103 Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin).
173 Settlement of Lyyvo (third pad'). Dea to Koyma, pure Ornyr (Ulcha from Sakhalin), came "long, long ago."

Settlement of Akhcha. Arkhong kugi (Ainu). Came to the Goldi and formed one clan with them (they gave to a Goldi the wife of a dead brother). They, however, live in Tebakh, from which they came to Akhcha five generations ago, as well as to Chil'mi.

117 Settlement of Tyl'mi. Khok-khal was taken into Kern-
103 khal on account of the war (before the arrival of Russians). Khok-
173 khal killed Kalmfing, an inhabitant of Kal'ma, over a woman.
628 Khok-khal was small. Then the murderer said to his kinsmen:
682 "There are few of you; leave me, let them kill me." The Kal'ma people came and surrounded the house. He got through a chumashka with kaluga /Huso douricus/ oil. Then an old man opened a window for him, and he jumped out; the brother killed him from behind with a spear, but he managed (before that) to kill another with an arrow, and again a casus belli. It was then that the Kern-khal adopted Khok-khal and gave it its widow; they broke the fire and bought a bear.

117 Settlement of Tvarvo at the mouth of Petrovskiy Bay. The
103 Alrong clan -- Kugi (Ainu), which several generations ago mi-
614 grated here from the south. This clan is also in Tebakh.

Another clan, Narlaf, came from Nyura two generations ago (1896).

117 In Taura, Chil'ba, and Tyr -- the Goldi and the Negda speak
103 their own language. If the father is Goldi and the mother Gilyak,
191 each of the parents speaks to the children in his own language, and the children speak both languages.

In the family of the Gilyak Kando the children for the most part speak Goldi, the easier language (1896).

117 Settlement of Tyr, Tyri. Khal Khok (Hŏinchá) came here
103 and departed. Six generations of it live here. According to a
173 legend, a long, long time ago its clan (Çhukchajl on the Amgun)
[614] came from the upper reaches of the Amur. The leading party

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117 103 173 went to the Amgun and left a sharpened stick (chjakh-varadz:, Gilyak gesams'a, geskha narni); the second party did not /287/ notice and traveled to Chkharbakh (Turkhung), while the third party did not like the fast current of the Amgun and it settled in Gok.

After the Chinese, Tyr was inhabited by the Kojma-fing [173] /see Koyma above/. This was at the time when "the pike lived on land and the snake in the water; the pike used to bite, and war was declared on it with a net, arrows, and so forth. Then the god decided that the pike should live in the water and the snake under the stones." After this the Kojma-fing left for Koyma.

117 103 361 Settlement of De, one kilometer from Tyr. 1) Khal Ajumka. 2) Khal Samakhaji. 3) Khal N'askhaji.

Settlement of Khok (one and a half kilometers from Tyr). 1) Kalm-fing -- Gilyak. 2) The Udan clan (Khan'gan -- forty years of age) -- Negda; moved from the Amgun, and it had come to the Amgun from Udyli.

Settlement of Kal'ma at seven and a half kilometers from [162] Tyr. Three Chinese; one of them married to a Gilyak woman One Kugi from Kosunaya has already lived here 20 years; he is not married, "no money to buy a wife."

117 582 A khal living here is a mixture of the Chokchagil and the Ainu khal'a of Dmitriya in Tyr. They make chédzigr (see below) and select their wives from the Olcha and the Gilyak; there are women from the Amgun as well. At the present time they may not take women from the Chokchagil. They can take two sisters. They may not exchange women between clans. Here they may take widows as well. The daughter is given to the wife of the brother in order to be sold, but he cannot demand this. At the bear festival anyone can shoot at the bear (1910).

117 103 173 Settlement of Dal'dzha. -- A Negidal clan. Originally the Ry-Negda lived in Dal'dzha, 30 kilometers from here. They all died (only one girl remained). They lived at a winter en- [539] campment. Once upon a time, in summer, a tiger appeared before the entrance. They attempted to get out of the yurt, but could not. Finally they got out by stepping over the tiger. Then

117 /287 cont./
103 they saw in their dreams that during the daytime when no one
173 was present the tiger slept with the little girl. Six times he slept,
539 six times "a boy was born." Then they argued and separated in different directions, Four generations have lived here. The Tyr branch adopted the Kugi. The Goldi also have their clan (1896).

119 Settlement of Kuk, ten and a half kilometers from Kal'ma.
103 Chilba-khal (Goldi) -- speak Gilyak and bury their dead in the
361 ground (1896).

Settlement of Tkhnalo (two kilometers from Kuk). Kern-khal (it is also in Tauro, Tyl'ma, and Takhta; 1896).

Settlement of Kabachi (three kilometers from Tkhnalo). Kern-khal, Takhta-fing, Chalym-fing (1896).

119 Settlement of Takhta (four kilometers from Kabachi). 1)
614 The former Khydz:yr clan. One family speaks Gilyak; they bury
[103] their dead. 2) The Choz'm clan /2887 (from chozmudz: -- to
[361] peck in a flock, like birds) Nag: ramlandz: (nag: -- lair and fish milk) came together. The Choz'm are poor people. They quarreled with some Gilyak and entered into a clan union with another clan and merged into one clan. Choz'm also live in Kal'ma. There are also Choz'm (1) in Pilavo. The Tvan-fing and the Chilba-fing

1. See below, "A Legend about Pilavo," 1910.

have Goldi laws and language. Kalma-fing. This khal is to be found also in Chil'mi and Khez'; they seem to have come from Pilavo. Kern-khal came from Tyl'mi; two Manchu, woman and a man, were sailing on a raft and shouted: "sinch arikhal munydz:nâ? which clan will draw me up on the bank?" They were seized with hooks on the raft.

119 Settlement of Chil'ma. Chilma-fing from Pilavo, near
103 northern Sakhalin. One clan of Chilma-fing is from northern
614 Pilavo. Three brothers: one went south (Pilavo); another came here; the third went to the Goldi (1896).

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117 103 Settlement of Pilavo-khez' (five kilometers from Chil'mi). In this settlement exclusively the Pilavyng clan (1910).

Settlement of Khez'. Exclusively the Pilavyng clan.

117 103 162 Settlement of Tebakh (Tevkh in Gilyak). Three yurts in all, about 30 persons. The Arkhong clan -- Aimu; came from Kosunaya on the Pronga and set takh -- a sharpened stick; from behind came a man, and the stick fell in the direction of Iski. The Arkhong clan is to be found most of all in Tebakh, further in Akhcha, Chil'mi (one house), and in Iski (1910). The Ignan together with the Arkhong who live in Akhcha constitute one clan: in Akhcha -- the Goldi half, -- the other half in Tebakh, (1896).

117 103 Settlement of Machala, opposite Khez'; two yurts of Negidal (1910). In 1896 the Khez'-ping and the Negidal (Ry) lived here.

117 103 162 614 Settlement of Pachi (Bachi). Twenty-two families, about 100 souls. Nine Russian houses and two Uigryf. In it, the clans: 1) Tva-bing (Tva was the settlement beyond Mkhyl' near Pat). 2) Aimkan live in Plakh (Pilavo), below Mariinsk. They used to live on the Amgun, but the brothers fought and several brothers left for Plakh, taking a piece of the fire -- tuur rodzz -- "to make a fire." There they became Ornyr, and then, a long time ago, in the times of the Japanese, they migrated from Korsakov to Tevkh and Kal'vo. There are two old lezing here, and also one in each of the following places: Kaki, Mago, Vasin Cape, and Tamlavo. 3) Pyri-fing clan (two yurts), an old village opposite Kal'vo. In the past, a long time ago, Amgun lived here. The green pine forest -- Tuuz; in Ukhta -- the Olcha (1910).

117 103 162 Settlement of Nykikh Khez'bin (one from Pilavo), on the channel Nyy Machalâ. About 20 Gilyak here, and also Amgun N'askhagil; who in Gilyak are called N'as'khon. Two from Pilavo settled here in the last ten years (1910).

1: Sternberg--418 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1988 RX2 Gilyak RX2 -- Amur

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117 Settlement of Kal'ga (the Gilyak K:alvo). Two clans:
103 1) Four yurts Lezing-ran-tva-bing (from lezing + tan, -- master).
614 The Lezing-ran are a Tva-bing generation (hyn'izlykh hyz'i). They caught many bears and had a large lezing. They quarreled while still in Tva and left long ago for Tamlvo. Now they are in Eg:li (Yali) and in Mago. 2) Pyrifing; three Lezing and three Uigryf (1910). One woman, Ry -- umgu -- female Negidal. 3) Lezgrang from the Sakhalin Tamlvo. 4) The Pyrifing Ornyr came from above; the oldest clan is here. 5) Narmlang from above, near Khabarovsk; the Goldi (1896).

Settlement of Mokraya (Mokhrvo). Clans: 1) Narmlang (Ornyr:) -- Pyrifing (Ygdymsyl from Kizf, where there are many). Here, three houses of them; they have lived here for four gen-
[162] erations. 2) Lezgrang -- one house, 17 persons. All of the Gilyak seem to have come from the Amgun (hynk) and settled down on the Amur. One Uigryf (1910).

Settlement of Mago. Clans: 1) Mor'-tan (Ornyr:); 2) Lezgrang (one house); 3) Naromlang; one house, three families (1910).

Clans: 1) Lezgrang, 2) Pyrifing, 3) Tyvlafing, 4) Hutyvikh, from the Tym' River, 5) Narmlang, 6) Pnarnung (1896).

Yoom-bal' -- a mountain six and a half kilometers above Vaydy; in former times Gilyak from the settlement of Yoom lived here. On the left bank of the Amur, beyond Yoom, there is a small bay, and beyond it a high bank with bare white k:aned'zh dzif (limestone) (1910).

Settlement of Vayr (Vaydy); in 1896 there were three clans: 1) Keg:n, 2) Hirlung (Hirlung and Shafping), 3) Lumr-ping. Now only 12 Ornyr, 10 Gilyak, 17 Hirlung (see also below), 13 Shafping, and ? Lumr-ping are left. The Keg:n -- Olcha are from the settlement of Aur; four generations are in Vayr. There were three brothers; the eldest brother took a Hirlung wife; he was followed

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117 103 614 by two brothers. The Keg:n -- came from southern Pilavo. Recently arrived Olcha are here also; the starosta arrived here 12 years ago. The Keg:n arose from the Goldi from Sofisk and the Ainu from Kryus-pal', their ancient settlement (1896). The Shafping are Amgun from Dal'dzhi; many many generations ago their fathers spoke Amgun. The Hirlung are the old inhabitants. Their clan is in Chil'bi and Kekhrvo (the Orochi). The Chilbifing are the Ornyr from Kekhrvo -- the Lumr-ping came from Udyl' (Hurulong in Gilyak). There is no more of this clan in any other place (1910).

They came to be one clan in the following fashion: An Olcha married a Keg:n widow, and then he bought a bear for a dead man. Without taking a woman, it is impossible to become a (common) clan. When the clans united, they had one Lezing and one Uigryf ("sinning" house, i.e., forbidden.

[361] Settlement of Yali (Eg:li), four kilometers below the settlement of Mokraya; seven yurts. Clans: /290/ 1) Lezing-ran (one house); 2) Chilng-fing (Kedu'-Orel' -- lake), probably Negidal; 3) one family from N'anivo (1910).

Amng-khal, Narmlang, Jarli-fing (Goldi from the Khungari), Jegni and Njenkhajfing. With regard to the origin of the last clan, there is the following legend. One Goldi brother wanted to take off the or (see below, the settlement of Kol') from a girl, and another suggested killing her. The killer left for N'enkha (near Nikolayevsk).

117 103 731 173 [361] Settlement of Kaki (13 kilometers from Vaydy). Before the epidemic there were 20 houses here; 5 yurts. Three Russians, one Uigryf. Clans: 1) Tvabifing -- 14 persons. 2) Amng from the Amgun: only three persons were left, the rest died. Three houses died out during the last epidemic (1910). 3) Kegnang from Choma. 4) The Tvan-fing. One old man says that he is down from the Goldi, another from the Ul' River near Avra. 5) Amn-khal -- Goldi; they came from above; the first master of this village; this is the oldest khal. In the past this was a large khal but then all of its inhabitants died out (1896).

117 103 Settlement of Chkharbakh. Torkhung-khal (1896).

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• 117 103 614 Settlement of Tebakh, a village some 20 years ago (1896).

Vas'. Cape Vasin. 1) Levkh-ping. The cape lies next to Nilevo; 2) Derkhr-vun (1896).

[162] Kuklya and Meo. The first master of the village before the Russians was the Keg:n clan; now nine persons are left; they live in Vas' (1896). Meo-fing, from Khayma above Bogorodskoye (1896).

Settlement of Kol'. Clans: 1. Miera-fing. Miera -- the oldest khal -- this Chvunung khal (Larun) came from the north from the Ali River (a two-day walk from Shantar -- Kyvrmif); then the khal separated, and part of it went to Sakhalin (Larun, [133] Ylevut). It takes women from the khovnung. The Ali is a river as broad as the Amur. A long, long time ago Y'lur and Gilyak were one khal. They heard that the Aleut, too, raise dogs and hold the bear festival. 2. Tigr tor ping. A man sailed on a hovykh (raft) down the Amur. The Machinskiye Gilyak caught him and brought him here in a boat. Takes women from the [582] Perkhvung. 3. Kedz:ung (from Petakha) -- takes women from the Khovnung. 4. Perkhvung (from Sakhalin). Takes women from the Khovnung. 5. Nynkhaj-fing and Khovnung from the settlement of Kyr beyond Sofisk where the Nynkhay River is (they came from there -- chinirokh). There is here in Kol' one khal from Khovnung. It takes women from the Langr. 6. Khovnung (Goldi). Two brothers quarreled and decided to divide the or -- chain and stone on the little girl of one of the brothers, and then killed her. [582] They have an Ainu dagger with a silver handle. Take women from the Snarnung. 7. The Snarnung take women from the Perkhrvung. 8. The Tyvliing -- from Ukhtr, near Sofisk (Ornyr). Takes women from the Perkhvung.

/291/ The old man Nashg (86 years of age): his clan has lived here for at least 150 years, in his opinion, eight generations. At the present time his khal is Snarnung. His ancestor came from the Amgun; at the mouth of the Amgun he set up a post, but it fell down. He traveled with his family to Lake Chlya and crossed to here. Now his clan is on the Amgun -- N'as'khajl. He came on foot. He also broke the fire. He bought the Tyyv River (a tributary of the Kol') by exchanging his sister for it (1896).